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ABSTRACT

Most American families consist of three or more generations. This study analyzes intergenerational relationships over time. In the past these relationships have been characterized in terms of a generation gap. In regard to this gap, this study seeks to compare and contrast perceptions of generational relations among grandparents, parents, and children; analyze how these perceptions change over time; and examine around what issues family members perceive generational conflict. Data for the analysis were part of a larger longitudinal study of three generation families over a period of time. Responses to a question about perceived gaps between generations were analyzed. Systematic differences between generations in their perceptions of the generation gap within the family were found. Grandparents saw less conflict within their families than did either children or grandchildren. Grandchildren reported the greatest distance between themselves and other family members. Qualitative responses reflected intergenerational disagreements over the meaning of work and finances. (ABL)

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MAPPING THE GAP: A STUDY OF INTERGENERATIONAL PERCEPTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

An important outcome of the "aging" of American society is that the majority of American families consist of three or more generations (Hagestad, 19xx). Given this relatively new phenomenon in family relations, it is important to understand how family members perceive their relationships to each other. At the same time, it is imperative to recognize that family relations are not static but change over the course of time. This paper is a first step in the analysis of intergenerational relations over time. In the past these relationships have been characterized in terms of a generation "gap."* An important question is whether there remains a gap between generations within the same family. In regard to the generation gap, this paper has three objectives:

1. to compare and contrast perceptions of generational relations between grandparents, parents, and children;
2. to analyze how these perceptions change over time;
3. to examine around what issues family members perceive generational conflict.

GENERATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE GENERATIONAL STAKE

Following the student turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of researchers became interested in generational relations, especially perceived versus actual differences among members of differing generations. Scholars sought to understand both what was happening on (some) college

campuses (as depicted by the media) as well as relations between generations in families and American society. [Potential conflict between generations raised questions about the cleavages between different age groups in society. The so-called generation gap can be seen as "one of the clearest examples of inter-group perceptions defined by age" (Bengtson, 1971:85). Researchers hypothesized that perceived differences between age groups were either a matter of differences in orientation or discrepant values (e.g, hairstyles, fashion, and manners) with subsequent behavioral consequences of competition or conflict between age strata.

Bengtson (1971) suggests that in popular culture perception—which determines an individual's behavior toward others—and age have been linked in the public rhetoric and private anxiety of a generational cleavage. The inevitabilites of individual aging and social change merely fuel the uneasiness associated with the concept of "the generation gap.".pp Bengtson (19??) emphasizes three factors that play an important role in the concept of generational cleavages. These are: (1) the age of the perceiver, (2) the referent person or group (e.g,'parent,' 'older people'), and (3) situational factors. In addition, he argues that disparities between generations are probably more salient within one's family than at the societal level, since the differences found are frequently related to hopes for one's children and grandchildren. Bengtson and Kuypers (1971) have found evidence for a "developmental stake" for the older generation, such that they minimize differences between family members, while younger family members emphasize or exaggerate differences. It is important, however, to realize that family members, especially younger ones, perceive a "gap" to exist (Adelson, 1970; Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971; Thomas, 1971).

The amount of generational distance or conflict, however, is widely questioned. While some researchers maintain that the cleavages are wide and enduring (e.g., Feuer, 1969; Mead, 1970), others take a less extreme view. These can be grouped into three categories: (1) the "great gap" perspective (Friedenberg, 1969; Mead, 1970; Roszak, 1969; Slater, 1970), which argues that cleavages between generations are large and enduring; (2) the "nothing really new" notion (Thomas, 1971; Adelson, 1970), which suggests that generations have always held different views but they these differences are not large; and (3) the "selective continuity" position (Hill, Foote, Aldous, Carlson, and McDonald, 1970; Hess and Handel, 1959). This last perspective suggests that members of different generations may speak of the same values, but social and historical change may cause these values to be interpreted in a different way.

Factors Associated With Conflict Among Generations. In his review of empirical studies, Thomas (1971) concludes that there is little evidence of generational differences regarding attitudes and there exists little research on differences in value orientations. Troll and Bengtson's (1981) review, however,

According to Bengtson (1971), social definitions of age probably play a more important role than chronological age in understanding perceptions of generational conflict (Bengtson, 1971). Easterlin (1978) emphasizes the role of cohort size and composition on the experiences of members of different cohorts, especially as cohort size impacts economic opportunities for the young and old. This economic gap can create potential tensions between an older generation that grew up during a time of scarcity and a younger generation that expects the abundance they experienced in their youth.

Marshall and Bengtson (1983) assert that there is a both conflict and cooperation among generations. This is not to deny, however, that some degree of conflict is endemic to relations among members of a group—including family members— (Marshall and Bengtson, 1983:305). Similarly, Lehr (1981) finds that conflicts with parents occur at all parts of the life course. This suggests that research needs to focus on those issues which are associated with conflict versus those related to cooperation. Lehr adds that we also need more qualitative analyses, in order to capture such dynamic processes as "intimacy at a distance" (Rosenmayr and Rosenmayr, 1978). The consensus among researchers is that there exists few studies which demonstrate how values and attitudes become sources of tension among family members of different ages.

[According to attribution theory, perceptions are identified as a result of an information search based on observable events that illustrate behavioral consensus, distinctiveness, or consistency. When internal feelings are weak or ambiguous, people tend to infer their own attitudes or the attitudes of others from the observed behavior and situations in which the behavior occurs. One explanation for the developmental stake for grandparents, therefore, is that grandparents who do not spend much time with their children or grandchildren are more likely to infer their own attitudes to these family members. The same process occurs for grandchildren, except that they place their perceptions of a large gap to their grandparents views.

Summary. Although twenty years have passed since the notion of a generation gap first appeared in the mass media, intergenerational relations remains a critical issue for researchers. Previous research suggests two main conclusions: (1) that it is more fruitful to lay aside the assumption of a "great gap" between family members and instead to focus on both conflict and cooperation among generations over time; and (2) that we need to study

qualitative factors which reveal the complexity and temporal nature of family life in order to increase our understanding of intergenerational relations.

METHODS

The Sample. The data for this analysis are part of a larger longitudinal study of three generation families (The USC Study of Three Generation Families, headed by Vern Bengtson). The original sample was selected from the 840,000 member list of a health maintenance organization based in southern California. Time-1 data was collected in 1972 and Time-2 data collection began in 1984 and is ongoing (see Bengtson, 1975 for a description of the Time-1 sample and Campbell, Richards, and Boydston, 1985 for Time-2 sample information).

Measures of Dependent and Independent Variables. The dependent variables in the quantitative analyses consist of responses to to the question: On a scale of 1 to 6, how much of a "gap" do you think there is these days among the three generations within your own family— a) the older and middle generations, b) the younger and middle generations, and c) the older and younger generations.** A score of "one" represents "no gap whatsoever," while "six" means a "very wide gap."

The independent variables in the regression analyses derive from previous research on intergenerational relations as well as correlations with the dependent variables. The independent variables are: 1) age, 2) gender, 3) education, 4) total number of children, 5) the number of miles family members live from each other, 6) two scales of how frequently family members get together for (a) informal socializing and (b) ritual activities (e.g., birthdays), 7) an item which asks parents how close they feel to their child,

8) an item which asks grandparents how close they feel to their grandchild, 9) a global "happiness" item, and 10) a scale of "norms of familism" (i.e., respondents' attitudes about the amount of responsibility that family members should feel for each other).

The qualitative analysis is based on responses to the open-ended question "In what ways is the "generation gap" evident in your family at this point in time?"

Data Analysis. Our data analysis consists of three parts. First, we compare the mean score on the generation gap items for each generation at Time-1 and Time-2. Second, we use ordinary least squares regression to develop a model for predicting scores on the dependent variables. We test whether generations differ in the factors which best predict their perception of a generation gap. In addition, we analyze how these patterns for generations change from Time-1 to Time-2.

In our third analysis we examine differences between generations in responses to the open-ended question concerning the generation gap within their families. We selected a subsample (N=108) of matching Time-1 and Time-2 responses to the open-ended question in order to assess change over time in salient issues around which respondents perceive a generation gap within their families. In addition, we examine themes that differentiate the three generations. The qualitative analysis will be used to improve our model for understanding intergenerational relations, as it reveal factors that are not in the quantitative model but are perceived as generating conflict between family members.

PERCEPTIONS OF GENERATIONAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

Differences Between Generations at Time-1. Our first objective was to assess differences between generations in their perceptions of a gap. Figure 1 presents the mean scores of the gap items for each generation. Overall, respondents perceive the greatest gap within their families existing between grandchildren and grandparents.

(Figure 1 About Here)

The figure also indicates systematic differences between generations in perceptions of a gap within their families. Parents (irrespective of generation), perceive the smallest gap existing between themselves and their children. Grandchildren, however, see the closest resemblance in attitudes between their parents and grandparents.

[There also are gender differences within the same generation in perceptions of generational distance. Middle generation fathers perceive least distance between themselves and their parents. Middle generation mothers, however, see greatest attitude similarlity existing between themselves and their children. This gender difference also occurs with younger generation members. Thus, men of all generations consistently see the closest relationship existing between the older and middle generations. Older generation women agree with the men. Middle and younger generation women, however, perceive the least distance between themselves—the middle and younger generations. This suggests that gender is a crucial factor in generational relations..pp Differences Between Generations at Time-2. Next we contrast Time-1 analysis of mean scores with those at Time-2. Figure 2 presents the mean scores of the same three dependent variables for each generation. As was true at Time-1, each generation perceives the greatest gap

between grandparents and grandchildren. Like their counterparts at Time-1, parents (regardless of generation) see the closest relationship between themselves and their children. Only grandchildren report a different pattern of responses in Time-2. Thirteen years ago adolescent grandchilren saw the smallest gap existing between their parents and grandparents. Today as young adults, however, they see their relationship to their parents as equally close to that of their parents and grandparents.

(Figure 2 About Here)

(A comparison of Time-1 and Time-2 means also reveals different gender patterns at the two time periods. While middle generation fathers at Time-1 saw the grandparent-parent tie as closest, they now perceive their relationship to their children as the closest one. The same change occurs for younger generation men--they no longer see the relationship between their grandparents and parents as closest; instead they perceive the closest tie between themselves and their parents. This latter pattern was true for mothers and their daughters at both Time-1 and -2. Thus, one could characterize the changes in fathers' and sons' responses as "feminization", in that their responses now mirror those of mothers and daughters.)

Now that we have examined differences between generations in their mean scores of the dependent variables, we next analyze regression models of the dependent variables for each generation. This analysis will reveal what factors (besides generation membership) are associated with perceptions of a gap. Table 1 presents the regression models for Time-1 analysis.

(Table 1 About Here)

Time-1 Regression Analysis. The first dependent variable is perceptions of the gap between grandparents and their children. As Table 1 shows, the model explains more of the variance in grandparents' perceptions (adjusted R-squared = .15) than it does for parents' views (adjusted R-squared = .06). For both grandparents and parents, their expectations about familial norms is inversely related to perceptions of a gap. That is, people who believe in strong familial norms also tend to perceive less conflict. For grandparents, their feelings of closeness to their children and their grandchildren are positively related to their seeing less of a gap between themselves and their children. In addition, a grandparents' total number of children is related to their perceptions. Those with fewer children are more likely to see less of a gap with their child.

The second dependent variable is perceptions of relations between middle generation parents and their children. The model explains more of the variance in parents' responses (adjusted R-squared = .11) than their children's (adjusted R-squared = .07). The only factor that is predictive of middle generation parents' perceptions of a gap is their feelings of closeness toward their child. Closeness breeds little perceived gap. For their children, an important factor is informal socializing: those children who get-together informally with their parents also perceive less conflict with them. In addition, strong norms of familism are predictive of children's perceptions of a small gap.

The third dependent variable is perceptions of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The model fits grandparents' responses (adjusted R-squared =

.16) better than grandchildren's (adjusted R-squared = .03). Once again, perceptional factors are significantly related to the dependent variable. Grandparents' feelings of closeness to their grandchildren affect their perceptions of conflict between themselves and their grandchildren. In addition, proximity is positively related to perceptions of low conflict; those grandparents who live closer to their children see less of a gap between themselves and their grandchildren.

For grandchildren, only one factor--norms of familism--is predictive of their perceptions of the relationship between themselves and their grandparents. Those grandchildren who hold strong norms of familism perceive less distance between themselves and their grandparents.

Time-2 Regression Analysis. Next we analyze whether the influence of these factors for understanding perceptions of a gap have changed over time. Table 2 presents the regression analysis for each of the dependent variables at Time-2.

(Table 2 About Here)

The first dependent variable is the relationship between grandparents and their children. As the table shows, the model fits equally well for grandparents' responses (adjusted R-squared = .13) than their children's (adjusted R-squared = .13). At Time-2 only one factor remains important for grandparents' perceptions of the gap: their feelings of closeness toward their children are stronger predictors at Time-2 than was true at Time-1. For their children, norms of familism remain important factors at Time-2. A new factor emerges as significant at Time-2: middle generation children who

associate informally with their parents feel less conflict with them.

As Table 2 shows, with regard to the gap between middle generation parents and their children, the model explains more variance in children's responses (adjusted R-squared = .22) than parents' (adjusted R-squared = .08). Like Time-1, parents' feelings of closeness to the child remains an important factor for their perceptions of a gap at Time-2. Their is less continuity for their children's perceptions. At Time-1 the most important factors were informal association and norms of familism. At Time-2, however, the only significant predictor is affect. Those grandchildren who feel close to their parents perceive less conflict with them.

The final dependent variable is the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren at Time-2. The model explains little of the variance in grandparents' responses (adjusted R-squared = .01) or grandchildren's (adjusted R-squared = .06). At Time-2, grandparents' feelings of closeness toward their grandchildren remain important predictors of their perceptions of a gap. Unlike Time-1, however, residential proximity is no longer significant. For grandchildren at Time-1, norms of familism are the only factors related to seeing less of a gap with their grandparents. At Time-2 the only significant factor is grandchildren's happiness. Those who feel better about themselves also feel closer to their grandparents.

Summary. The quantitative analyses suggest systematic differences between generations in their perceptions of the generation gap within the family. First, comparisons of Time-1 and Time-2 mean scores show that grandparents continue to see less conflict within their families than do their children and grandchildren. Moreover, grandchildren continue to perceive the greatest distance between themselves and other family members.

[There also appear to be changes in the way that middle generation fathers and their sons perceive the gap. At Time-2 these men respond in the same way as their female counterparts, in that they perceive the closest relation as existing between middle generation parents and their children..pp The regression analyses also indicate continuity and change in perceptions of a generation "gap" within the family. Parents' (regardless of their generation) feelings of closeness for children remain important factors for predicting their perceptions of a gap. The pattern for children's perceptions at Time-2 depend on their generation membership. The perceptions of middle generation children are related to norms of familism at Time-1 and -2; frequency of informal socializing with parents is also important at Time-2. For younger generation children, there has been a switch from interaction and "responsibility" factors (i.e., informal socializing and norms of familism) to affectional factors. Those children who feel close to their parents see less of a gap. Finally, factors predictive of grandchildren's relationship to their grandparents change from responsibility (norms of familism) to self image (happiness score).

QUALITATIVE ISSUES AROUND WHICH GENERATIONAL CONFLICT EMERGES

The third objective of this paper is to analyze what issues generational members perceive to cause conflict. This analysis can inform and improve the previous quantitative analysis by revealing factors not included in the regression analyses but which are perceived to be important to family members.

Generational Differences in Conflictual Issues. At both Time-1 and -2, several themes recurred in responses to the open-ended question concerning a

generation gap existing within one's family. These themes include: no gap, lack of maturity among some generations, differences in values, economic and social exchanges between family members, differences in norms of intergenerational relations, differences in expectations about frequency of contact between generatons, competing family loyalties, hopes and wishes for different generations, different communication styles, and the issue of independence.

Although these themes were mentioned by respondents at Time-1 and -2, we will focus on those themes which (1) were mentioned most frequently mentioned by respondents at both periods and (2) add to our model for understanding perceptions of a generation gap.

In the first part of our analysis we found support for the generational stake, as grandparents consistently see less a gap than do other family members at Time-1 and -2. This is also evident in the qualitative responses. For example one grandmother responded to the open-ended question by saying:

> No conflict, but. (I disapprove of [my two grandsons' living arrangements. It is their decision and since I'm not consulted, I keep still but don't approve).

The earlier analysis also showed the importance of parents' feelings of closeness in explaining their perceptions of little conflict with their children. This theme was also apparent in the qualitative analysis. For example, one grandmother writes:

> I feel close to my three children and their spouses. I have ten grandchildren and feel very close to all. Due to schooling and starting married life, (I) do not see them as often as I would like, but feel a closeness if needed in an emergency.

Another major theme is conflict over values among the three generations. At Time-1, value conflicts revolved around lifestyle, customs, and attitudes.

At Time-2, these differing values also included political and feminist beliefs, differences in parenting styles, drug use, attitudes toward sex, and the lack of responsibility of the younger generation. Some of these differences come under the concept of "norms of familism"— rules about responsibility toward family members. Just as this was an important factor in the quantitative analysis, it also emerges in the qualitative. For example, a grandfather at Time-2 writes:

> Too many reasons to list, but basically things that the older ones learned in school and by parents just isn't present in younger ones; fun and games and 'me first' take precedent over quiet sanity.

While the previous examples reflect similarities between the quantitative and qualitative analyses, several factors were discussed in the open-ended question that were not measured in the quantitative analysis. Many of these concerned differences in values among family members. One value which was repeatedly perceived, especially by grandchildren, as a source of conflict was the meaning of work in one's life. A granddaughter at Time-2 explained:

> My father believes very strongly that one should work whenever time permits--therefore, he is hostile to relaxation, vacations, sports— in general to anything that involves anything "unproductive." My husband works for my father—thus a major disruption occurs in our lives when we try to relax at home and my father visits—he's quite scornful!

Two grandsons at Time-2 agree that:

> Work seems to be everything [to my father and enjoying life not at all important.

> I feel there should be a balance between work and play, whereas my father feels work always comes first.

Not only do younger family members at Time-2 perceive generational conflict over work issues, they also see tension around the issue of money. This is especially true for females. A granddaughter writes:

> I've noticed differences in ways of spending money, different methods of

handling finances. There is a conflict between my parents and my grandparents in my grandfather's unwillingness to spend money for his own comfort.

Summary. In this section we have examined the qualitative issues which are perceived to generate intergenerational conflict. Several themes at Time-1 and Time-2 reflected the quantitative analysis, as grandparents in particular felt that there was no gap within their families (although often qualified). The importance of affect or feelings of closeness was found in both types of analyses as well as different values concerning family responsibility. More importantly for future analysis was the qualitative responses that reflected intergenerational disagreements over the meaning of work and finances. Grandchildren, especially females, were especially likely to write about conflict over work and financial issues.

DISCUSSION

We began this paper with three research questions:

1. What differences exist between grandparents, parents, and grandchildren in their perceptions of a generation gap?
2. How do these perceptions change over time?
3. Around what substantive issues do members perceive conflict?

Whose Gap Is It, Anyway? Comparisons of grandparents', parents', and grandchildren's perceptions of family ties support the notion of a generational stake (Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971) for the oldest family members. Grandparents consistently perceive less of a generation gap among family members. This is true at both Time-1 and -2. Conversely, grandchildren consistently see the largest amount of distance between

generations within the family. This suggests that the answer to the question of how wide is the generation gap depends on which family member answers the question. Researchers need to recognize these differences in perceptions when making decisions about which family member from whom to obtain data.

The goal of the regression analysis was to model the factors that are important in understanding perceptions of a gap. Four findings emerged from this anlaysis: First, perceptions (e.g., feelings of closeness) are consistently more important than structural factors (e.g., age, education) in explaining views about the generation gap. Although previous research has focused on value differences between generations, there has been less attention to perceptions. Moreover, reviews of the literature point to structural factors such as social class and race in explaining generational relations. Our research suggests that perceptions may be more important than structural variables. (Although it is also possible that a structural factor, such as gender, may be "causing" (be causally prior to) both perceptions of a gap and those included as independent variables. We cannot separate out the temporal order of these factors in our present study.)

Second, our study suggests that norms of familism affect perceptions of a gap. That is, those who have stronger views about what family members should do also see less conflict in their families. Our analysis also indicates that these norms may not be as salient in the 1980s as they were in the 1970s for predicting perceptions of a generation gap. Third, we find that feelings of closeness are important factors for understanding intergenerational relations. This is especially true for grandparents. In addition, this factor remains important at Time-2.

Finally, the qualitative analysis suggests factors that need to be

explored in future studies. Some factors were evident in both analyses. These include: (1) grandparents' tendency to see less of a gap within the family, (2) the significance of closeness between family members in explaining perceptions of conflict, and (3) value conflict as a source of intergenerational distance. Other factors which were not measured in the quantitative analysis but were mentioned as important sources of conflict include (1) differences in the meaning of work and (2) disagreements about how money should be spent.

Possible changes in the value of work among the younger generation is also evident in the mass media. A recent beer comercial that is aimed at the baby boom generation proclaims "Who says you can't have it all? Who says you can't love your work...and leave it too?" The commercial shows a young executive at his computer terminal and then after hours as he plays softball. He does both very successfully, of course. The commercial ends with the "gang" drinking the sponsors' beer at the local watering hole.

In future studies, these potentially conflictual factors should be included in a model predicting perceptions of the generation gap, as they reflect a more dynamic, ongoing element of family interaction. Future studies should also include in-depth interviews of family members which focus on conflict and cooperation between generations.

CONCLUSION

As the theme of this symposium suggests, there are both problems and promises at this preliminary stage of studying intergenerational relations over time. In future analyses we plan to look more closely at changes that have occurred between Time-1 and -2 as well as the relative importance of

structural versus perceptual factors in understanding the generation gap. This will entail going beyond the aggregate analysis, as we link a respondents' answers Time-1 to those at Time-2. In this way we can examine how perceptions change over time within the same individual and family. We will also be able to analyze changes in structural factors (e.g., change in status from married to divorced). It is possible that a significant factor is change in structural status over time, rather than one's structural status in cross-sectional analysis.

In addition, we plan to analyze the generation gap at the dyadic level. This too will go beyond an aggregate analysis and link up actual family members to see if patterns found at the group level hold true when the unit of analysis is the family. As these future studies suggest, there is much fruitful work still to be accomplished in the area of intergenerational relations.

FOOTNOTES

*There remains an enduring interest in what is known as "the generation gap." Although the phrase gained greatest prominence during the 1960s student movement, concern for relations between generations has a long scholarly tradition, as reflected in the works of Mannheim (1923), Berger (1969?), and M. Mead (1970). In recent years scholars have analyzed the extent to which a "great gap" ever existed between generations in American society (see Troll and Bengtson, 1981 for a review and critique of this literature). At the same time, there is increasing sophistication among gerontologists in distinguishing between generations, members of different cohorts, and different age groups (e.g., Bengtson, Cutler, Marshall, and Mangen, 1985). Our perspective based on current scholarship is that in attempting to understand the complex relationships between generations it is more appropriate to underemphasize the idea of a "great gap" and instead speak of generational relations. Thus, when we use the work "gap" to talk about distance between family members, we do not assume that it is a great gap; it may just as well be a small gap or even no gap.

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Figure 1: Mean Score for Perceived Generation Gap Between Grandparents and Their Children, Time-1 and Time-2

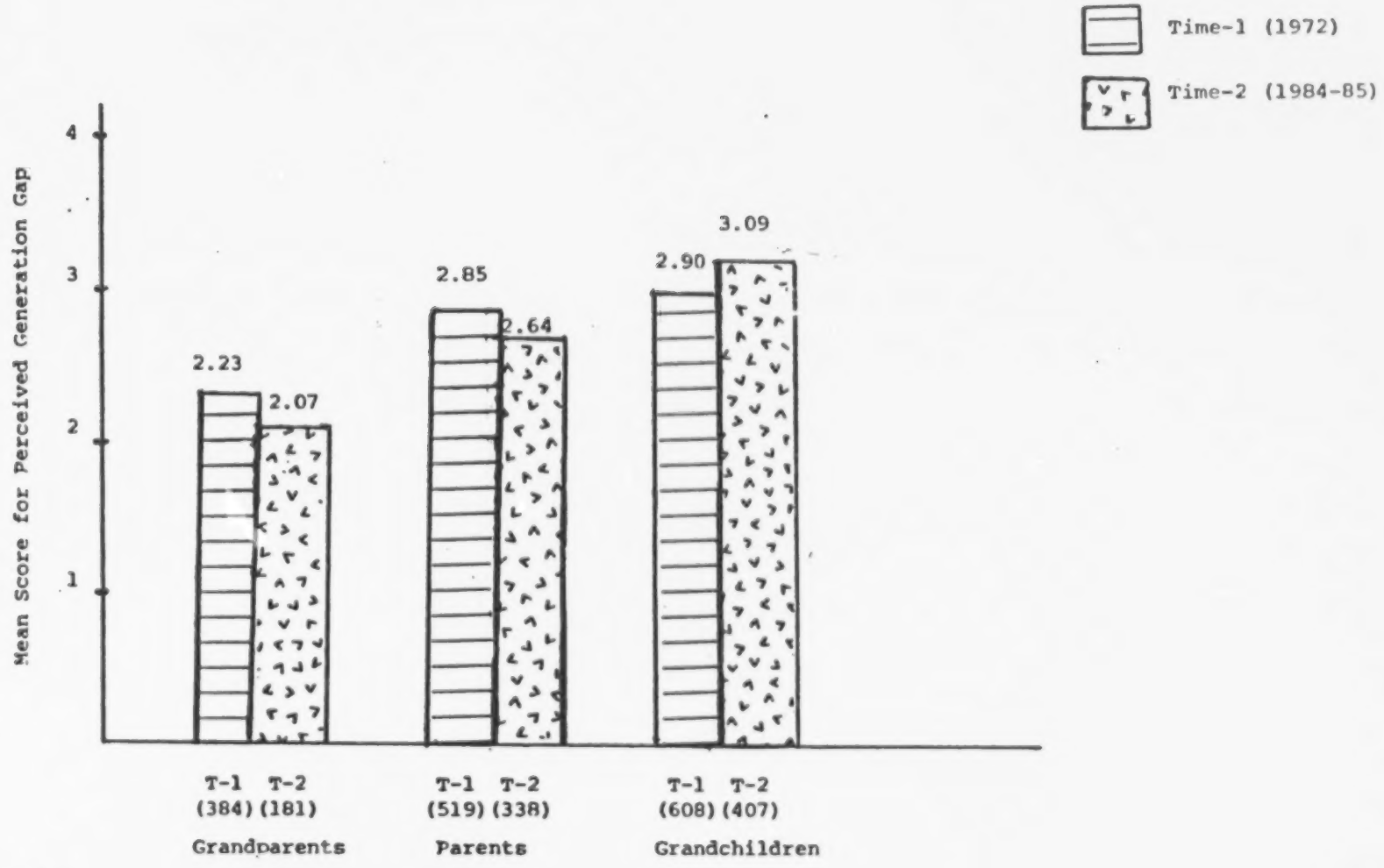

Figure 2: Mean Score for Perceived Generation Gap Between Parents and Their Children, Time-1 and Time-2

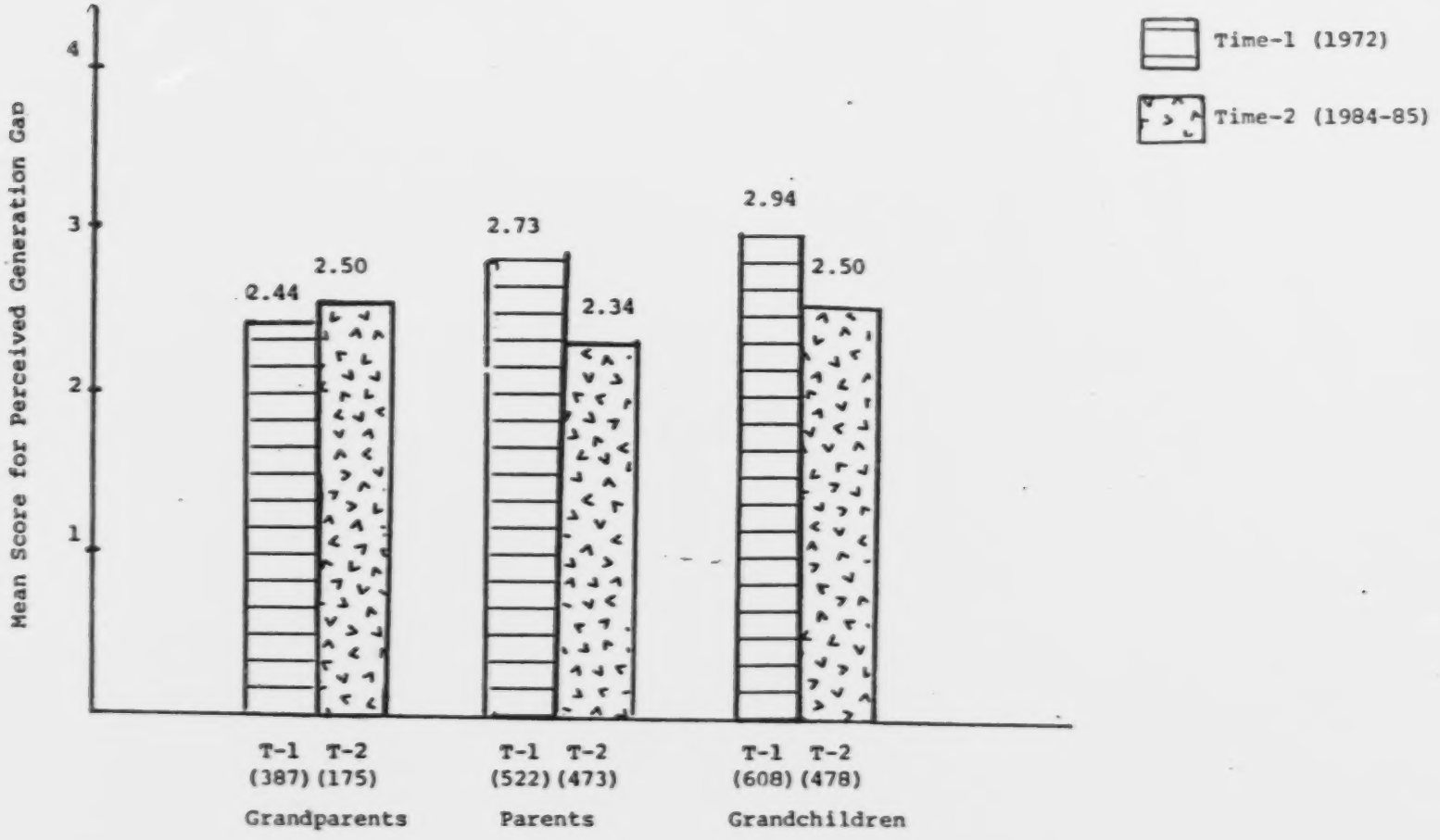

Figure 3: Mean Score for Perceived Generation Gap Between Grandparents and Grandchildren, Time-1 and Time-2

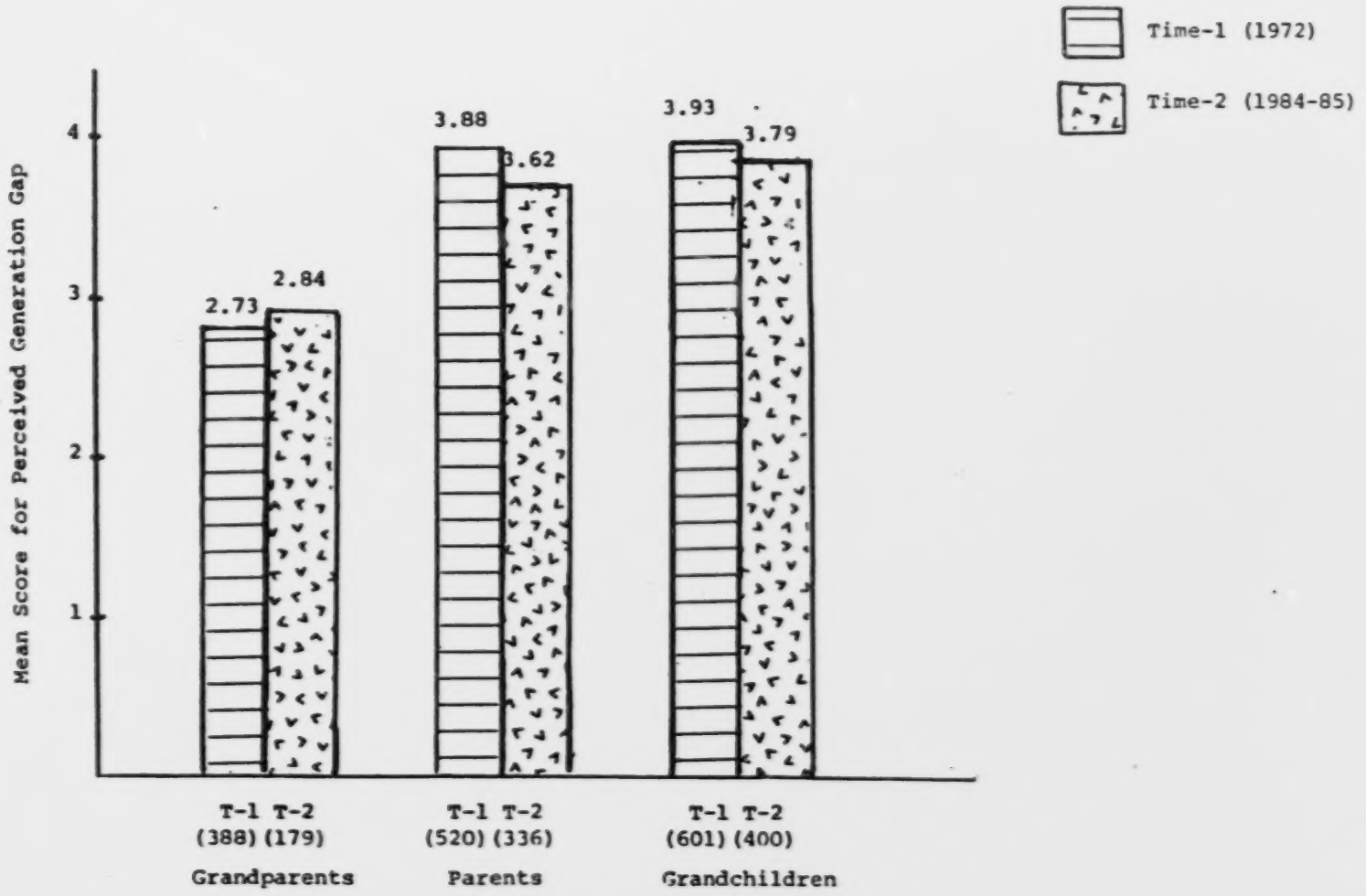

TABLE 1. REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PERCEIVED GENERATION GAP BETWEEN GRANDPARENTS, PARENTS, AND GRANDCHILDREN AT TIME 1

Variables	(G1) Parents-(G2) Children G1s (n=303)	G2s (n=236)	(G2) Parents-(G3) Children G2s (n=238)	G3s (n=414)	Grandparents-Grandchildren G1s (n=306)	G3s (n=411)
AGE	-.01	-.02	.02	-.04	-.01	-.02
	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)	(.03)	(.01)	(.04)
GENDER	.12	-.17	.19	.04	.10	.12
	(.13)	(.18)	(.14)	(.11)	(.15)	(.14)
EDUCATION	.01	.10	-.05	.08	.01	.19
	(.04)	(.09)	(.07)	(.08)	(.05)	(.11)
TOTAL # OF CHILDREN	-.13*	.06	.04	-.05	-.10	-.22
	(.05)	(.07)	(.06)	(.22)	(.06)	(.28)
ASSOCIATION (RITUAL)	-.01	-.10	-.08	-.02	-.07	-.06
	(.09)	(.10)	(.07)	(.04)	(.10)	(.05)
ASSOCIATION (INFORMAL)	-.01	.08	-.01	-.11**	-.01	-.03
	(.01)	(.08)	(.06)	(.03)	(.01)	(.04)
RESIDENTIAL PROXIMITY	-.07	-.05	-.03	-.06	-.21**	-.08
	(.07)	(.10)	(.08)	(.06)	(.08)	(.08)
HAPPINESS	-.16	-.18	-.10	-.05	-.08	-.17
	(.11)	(.10)	(.13)	(.09)	(.12)	(.12)
AFFECT TOWARD CHILD/ PARENT	-.05*	-.02	-.08**	-.05*	-.04	-.05
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)
AFFECT TOWARD GRANDCHILD	-.15**	—	—	—	-.28**	—
	(.06)				(.06)	
NORMS OF FAMILISM	-.06*	-.11**	.03	-.10**	-.03	-.07*
	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
CONSTANT	6.48**	5.74**	3.86**	5.80**	6.95**	5.73**
	(.93)	(1.16)	(.90)	(.62)	(1.05)	(.81)
	R^2=.18	R^2=.10	R^2=.15	R^2=.09	R^2=.19	R^2=.05
	adjusted R^2=.15	.06	.11	.07	.16	.03

* p< .05
** p< .01

TABLE 2. REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PERCEIVED GENERATION GAP BETWEEN GRANDPARENTS, PARENTS, AND GRANDCHILDREN AT TIME 2

Variables	(G1) Parents-(G2) Children G1s (n=128)	G2s (n=306)	(G2) Parents-(G3) Children G2s (n=425)	G3s (n=375)	Grandparents-Grandchild G1s (n=128)	G3s (n=312)
AGE	-.01 (.01)	.04* (.01)	.02 (.01)	.01 (.01)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)
GENDER	.22 (.18)	-.15 (.16)	.05 (.10)	.11 (.10)	.03 (.25)	-.09 (.16)
EDUCATION	a	a	a	a	a	a
TOTAL # OF CHILDREN	.06 (.04)	-.08 (.04)	.02 (.03)	-.07 (.04)	.05 (.06)	-.13* (.06)
ASSOCIATION (RITUAL)	a	a	a	a	a	a
ASSOCIATION (INFORMAL)	.01 (.07)	-.15** (.05)	.05 (.04)	a	-.15 (.09)	a
RESIDENTIAL PROXIMITY	a	a	a	a	a	a
HAPPINESS	-.36 (.40)	-.39 (.39)	-.30 (.26)	.05 (.26)	.52 (.55)	-1.15** (.41)
AFFECT TOWARD CHILD/ PARENT	-.26** (.08)	-.05 (.06)	-.22** (.04)	-.41** (.04)	-.22* (.11)	-.08 (.07)
AFFECT TOWARD GRANDCHILD	.06 (.07)	—	—	—	.10 (.10)	—
NORMS OF FAMILISM	-.20 (.12)	-.57** (.11)	-.10 (.07)	-.02 (.09)	.05 (.17)	-.21 (.14)
CONSTANT	4.08** (1.35)	4.24** (1.09)	3.14** (.71)	4.25** (.57)	4.73** (1.91)	7.64** (.92)
	R^2=.18 adjusted R^2=.13	R^2=.15 =.13	R^2=.10 =.08	R^2=.23 =.22	R^2=.07 =.01	R^2=.08 =.06

(a) Data not yet available

* p< .05

** p< .01